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ABSTRACT

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YAQUI WORLD VIEW AND THE SCHOOL: CONFLICT AND ACCOMMODATION

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ABSTRACT

It is within the sphere of their socioreligous domain that Arizona Yaquis have been able to survive as a cultural group. Yet this domain, consisting of the two realms of the profane; good versus evil, and the sacred enchanted world of huya ania, exists apart from the external world of a modern industrial society. The school, because of the nature of its power structure cannot accommodate Yaqui youth. Therefore, nonformal and informal mechanisms of education based on the Yaqui world view and within the Yaqui community must be used to assist Yaqui youth in their accommodation to the school.

A few years ago a team of researchers from the University of Arizona had an opportunity to pursue what has now become a rather common activity; namely a school and community enthography. The research team consisted of James Jones, a graduate student in religious studies; Barbara Buchanan, a graduate student in Anthropology and Education and Felipe Molina, an undergraduate student in Elementary Education. Funds were available to study one of the five Yaqui Indian communities in Arizona.

The purpose of the ethnography was to provide information for teacher training and curriculum development in an elementary school which served the Yaqui community. Observations were made of Yaqui children both in school and at home. On the basis of the ethnography, several suggestions were made in order to assist the school in accommodating Yaqui cultural behavior, values and attitudes. Thus, points of cultural conflict between the school culture and Yaqui culture were located, listed and suggestions for reduction of cultural dissonance were provided to the school administration. Such a procedure has now become rather standard for anthropologists or educators trained in anthropology working with schools which serve a large ethnic population.

Some of the cultural dissonance which was isolated by the research included such factors as:

1. The lack of advice of Yaqui religious leaders in planning the curriculum, devising a school calendar, and selecting individuals who may serve in an advisory capacity to the schools.

2. The use of Mexican American teachers to teach Yaqui children under the assumption that their mutual use of Spanish would insure better communications, when in fact Yaqui's continue to perceive Mexicans as an enemy having been persecuted by them through several centuries (Technically, Yaqui and Mexicans are still at war in Mexico and most Yaquis fled Mexico because of Mexican persecution).

3. Yaquis felt helpless in any attempt to influence school authorities.

4. School-home communication emphasized negative rather than positive information.

5. The Yaqui family as an economic unit is non-individualistic in orientation.

6. Yaqui students view school tasks as a process the completing of which is more important than the goal of the task.

7. Vocational models commonly available to middle class children are not available to Yaqui children.

8. Yaqui definition of parents may include grandparents, aunts, uncles, older sisters, and godparents.

9. Yaqui leadership is defined in terms of cooperation and collective behavior rather than individual behavior.

10. Yaqui children learn in a multistimula environment quite unlike the usual public schcol classroom.

Using a list of cultural dissonances such as this together with the suggestions for accommodating Yaqui cultural behaviors, a series of workshops were organized to train teachers and to develop curricular and teaching materials.

The year following the workshops Yaqui children were integrated into the total school system resulting in those teachers who had participated in the workshops having few, if any, Yaqui children in their classes. As a consequence, the frustration within the Yaqui community over the education of their children increased.

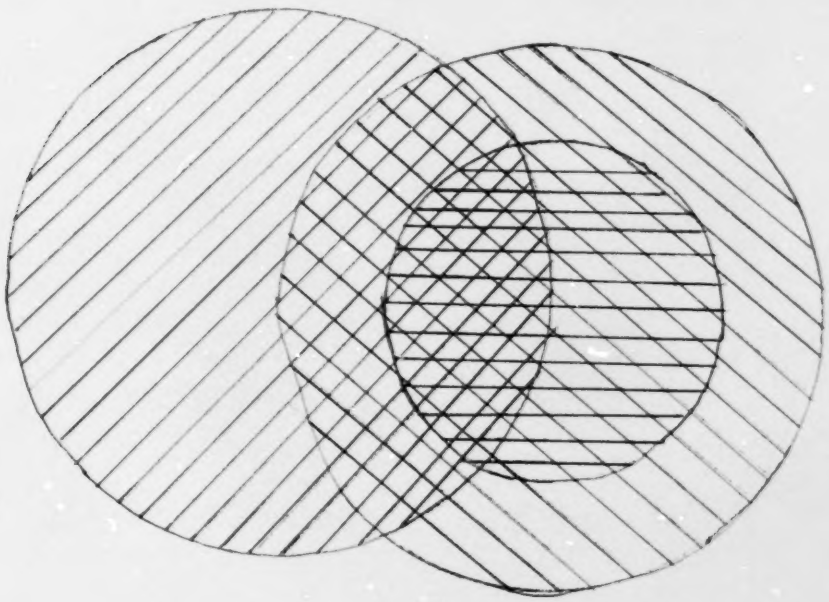
The position of this paper will be that except for a few school districts who serve a predominately ethnic clientele such as is found on Indian reservations, there are too many variables to control to insure school accommodation to ethnic groups, and that a non-school approach to school problems needs to be generated within the ethnic group. No doubt some schools can develop curriculum and teaching materials as well as train teachers to work with a specific ethnic student population, but over time such an effort frequently can be diverted due to changes in school board membership, administration, teaching staff, and funding. Thus, the ethnic student populations and their parents remain at the mercy of factors out of their control. The solution to accommodation, therefore, lies within the ethnic population itself rather than the school.

To illustrate the position of this paper, an example will be drawn from a comparison of the world view of the Yaqui with that of the school. The two worlds, the one sacred and profane, the other secular, rationale, scientific suggest considerable cultural dissonance. The solution will be in terms of Yaqui cultural accommodation to the school rather than non-Yaqui or school accommodation to Yaqui culture.

The results of the ethnographic study suggested that it is within the sphere of their socio-religious domain that Arizona Yaquis have been able to survive as a group. The ceremonial cycle is that part of Yaqui life which maintains their tribal identity amidst the chaos caused by the external forces of a modern, industrial society.

Although the process of symbolizing within Yaqui culture needs further study, some tentative conclusions can be made through an epistomological analysis of the Yaqui world view. There are two worlds of reality for Yaquis, (1) the <u>enchanted world</u> of impersonal power, within which there are neither good nor evil forces, of a timeless future included within a renewable cyclical cosmos wherein the earth dies and is reborn each year, and (2) the <u>human world</u> (European derivation) of good and evil forces, of opposing energy.

These two realities co-exist to form the contemporary world of the Yaqui (Figure 1). A third reality, the world of the Mexican or the Anglo are external to the Yaqui cosmos. English is an external language and knowledge provided by the school, external to the Yaqui view of life.



Contemporary Yaqui Cosmos

Traditional World of Hulya Ania(Contains the Yo Ania)

Moral World of Good vs. Evil

Realm of the Yo Ania (Enchanted Places)

Figure 1. Conceptual Framework of Overlapping Realities of Yaqui Life.

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According to Yaqui folklore, the ancestors of modern Yoemem (what the Yaquis call themselves in their own language) were the Surem.

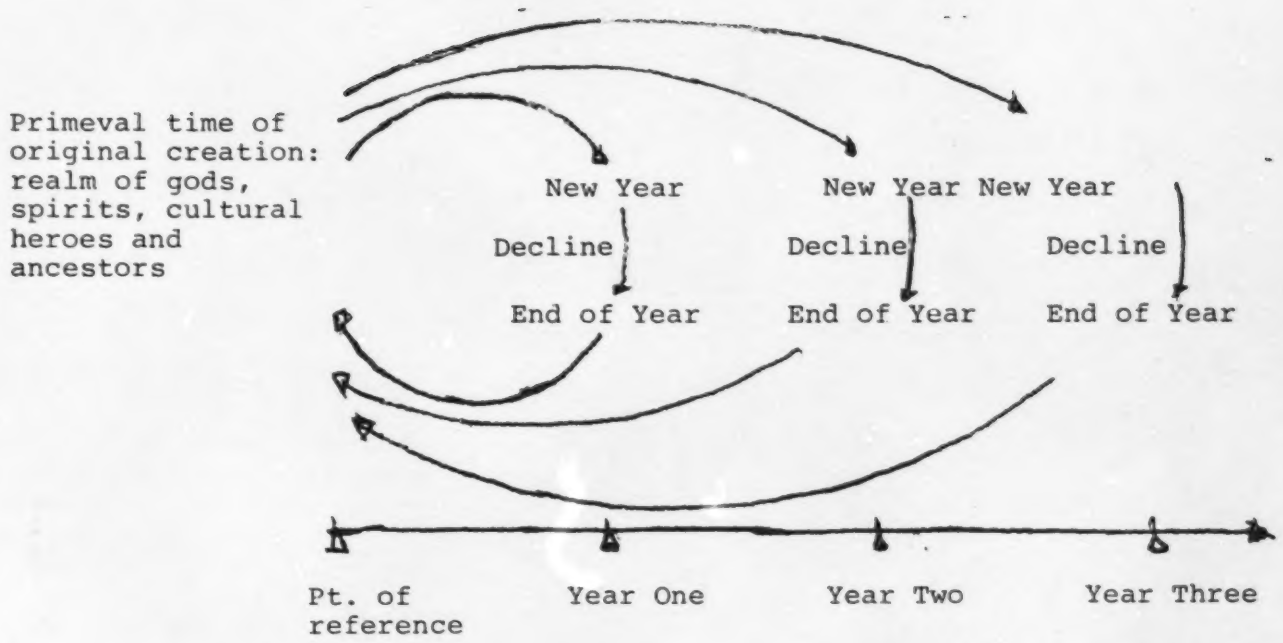
The Surem are little people, somewhat like the leprechauns of Ireland. The Surem lived in complete harmony with their environment. Ecological balance is still a very strong notion in the Yaqui value system. These little people, the Surem, were dwelling in the Rio Yaqui prior to the appearance of agriculture. They continue to dwell there today as they do in the Arizona villages, unseen. Those Surem who rejected the offer of baptism never died. They continue to walk the face of the earth. They are in a separate dimension of reality, and are perceived only by the Yaqui.

Before European contact, the Yaqui Indian perceived his world to be embued with an impersonal power, the remnant power from the origin of the universe. This power was neither good nor evil but could be used to achieve either end. This power has endured; it is a dynamic component of the cosmos in Yaqui thought today. By ceremonial means the human and supernatural realms converge to alter the train of events in the human realm. This is the purpose of the manda as provided in the post-contact conception of the world of good and evil, whereby a contract is made with a power in enchantment, in acquiring awesome skills or talents to do something remarkably well, too well.

Huya Ania

Prior to European contact and especially earlier in the hunting and gathering period before agriculture, the world was

viewed as a vast overgrown thicket called the huya ania (monte in Spanish). The huya ania was coarse and untamed; one had to cut through it with a long knife in order to trespass this bushy wilderness. Here dwelt many spirits and here was clearly manifest the awesome cosmic power of generation and regeneration. Here one found a well balanced environment but one also faced unknown dangers. Here one could find that timeless plane that relates all time, future included. Here one sensed the energy of the future with a clearcut uncertainty as to its nature. This uncertainty of the future and certainty of cosmic power fostered feelings of fear, fascination and ritual behavior. The cyclical world view held that the world was dying (as the seasons passed) and had to be renewed. The cosmic energy of the origin of the universe must be obtained in order to regenerate the world, in order to revive the many forms of life and energy on this planet. This fundamental attitude of cosmic renewal is present today in Arizona Yaqui villages. It is apparent in the highly sophisticated, articulate rituals performed during the Lenten period by the ceremonial societies and dance groups. It is daily defined by grandmothers who care for their pre-school aged children in the mornings and who chide their older grandchildren later in the evenings.



Linear time development in historical European time conception.

Figure 2. Two Realities of Time.

The huya ania is conceptualized by modern Yaquis much as it was by their forebearers but with the separateness of a co-existing reality. Since European contact, Yaqui Indians have acknowledged another reality as well: a universe comprising opposing energy forces. The forces are dialectically opposed and are of either a benevolent or malevolent nature. This universe of good and evil is perceived by the Yaqui, as a reality co-existing with the universe of cosmic regeneration. The very separate natures of these universes act in concert to pattern Yaqui thought processes.

In the Yaqui belief system, the Surem do exist. The nature of the huya ania is experienced in the Yaqui way of life. Other lesser spirits exist such as the chonim. These are hairy fluffs sent by magical means to suck the living breath out of the bewitched victim. The chapayekam, those masked beasts who join the fariseos during the Lenton period, are from the huya ania. These man-like demons cannot distinguish between right and wrong, good and evil, but rather merely seek to sate their wants for food, shelter, and physical pleasure. In the huya ania, the distinctions of cosmic energy are not viewed to determine good from evil; life cycle phases are distinguished, birth as opposed to death. Throughout the Lenten period, these chapayekam emphasize the nature of the huya ania to the Yaqui community. They have a particularly strong impact upon Yaqui children. The

chapayekam are feared by small children. They are often referred to by parents as a means to sanction behavior. Children may be warned that if they don't behave, they will be given to the chapayekan.

The modern concept of a world hosting a battle between opposed forces of good and evil co-exists with the world of the huya ania. Just as the ceremonial ramada is divided into two parts: pre-European contact on the right side of the observer, representing the huya ania, and on the left the post-contact representation of the forces of good (with the understanding of evil forces at large). The evil forces are represented outside the ramada by the fariseos. The Yaqui mind harbors two modes of cosmic awareness, side by side. The latter has not replaced the former nor has the former changed in meaning. These two aspects of the universe are conceived to be separate universes having distinct characters but manifested by the same source. These two realms are total within their own boundaries but compliment one another so that each is understood in terms of the other. Within the myths and legends of the Yaqui tribe, the times of origin for these universes have become intertwined so that not only do they share the same source of cosmic origin, they also share the same time of cosmic origin. These two cosmologies compliment one another such that they are synthesized into an holistic reality, a universal entity.

A similar process of synthesization forms the basis for a distinctly Yaqui perceptual process presently operating in Arizona Yaqui villages today. This process involves the necessary distinction between Yaqui and non-Yaqui items. Non-Yaqui items (things perceived and conceived) are not attributed the same values as Yaqui items are given. Non-Yaqui items are rejected or ignored. If non-Yaqui items are presented in Yaqui terms then they can be synthetically processed as Yaqui items; they may then be given worth in the Yaqui value system. In this way, the Yaqui community has accommodated rapid changes and powerful influences without assimilating into another, dominant culture. The Yaqui cosmology outlines the perceptual and conceptual processes for members of Yaqui society. This primal cosmology distinguishes Yaqui culture from others and maintains this distinction by influencing separate behaviors on the part of the members of Yaqui society.

Consider the notion of enchantment. The dance of the Pahkola is a difficult one to perform for extensive time periods. Quality is highly prized in this art form. If, however, one becomes too accomplished at this dance, one may be suspected of being enchanted by the magical power of the yo ania. The yo ania is a region within the huya ania containing the source of cosmic powers which obtain enchantment. Spicer suggests that before Spanish contact the regions of the huya ania and yo ania were coterminous (1980:65). Specific places on the earth's

surface are particularly related to the yo ania. These places have a transcendental quality which diffuses cosmic energy from one dimension (reality) to another. A wayfarer who trespasses such a place might incur enchantment. In a Yaqui village, it is widely believed that one may become a better dancer by camping alone near Sikili Kawi in the valley of the Rio Yaqui. There, after three days of fasting in solitude, one may see visions and hear voices; one may communicate with spirits and learn the secrets of perfection. The acquisition of perfection is costly. Enchangment entails the loss of one's anima (soul) whereafter one's spirit dwells forever in the huya ania. There, one would remain with the Surem who had refused baptism. This may be compared to the notion of selling one's soul to the devil but it is certainly not equivalent. The huya ania is nothing like a place of miserable damnation; it need not be seen as unpleasant. Nonetheless this spiritual bargaining is a social evil in a Yaqui village. For example, a Pahkola who is particularly good (approaching perfection) will be carefully watched by those present as he approaches the ceremonial alter at those time that the Matachin society dances, for the Matachinim erect three chiffon arches along the approach to the ramada. An enchanged Pahkola cannot walk under these arches. An enchanted dancer is entertaining and fascinating but socially rebuked. An enchanged dancer has not achieved a high state of the art by persistent hard

work but rather by cheating, by denying the maxims of the other complimentary universe.

A person can become enchanged to acquire excellence in anything. A curandero (healer: Jitebi in Yaqui), for example, who has devoted a lifetime to the study of herbs, berries and other elements and how they affect disease and illness is highly sought after in times of illnesses. According to Yaqui legend, the days of a Yaqui's life are numbered. These days are represented by the height of a person's individual candle burning in the Cave of Death. This life span may be extended through devotions, good works, sacrifice or the healer's art. Death is personified in the Yaqui cosmology. It is forbidden to cheat death. During illness a patient will seek a good curandero. An extremely successful healer will, however, arouse suspicions. An enchanted curandero cheats death; the patient of such a healer may be endangered through association.

Suspicions of enchantment are directed toward anyone achieving too great a mastery of any subject. Anyone who acquires a knowledge beyond the acceptable norm is called a moreakame. The acquisition of great knowledge be questioned. Enchantment will be suspected. A non-Yaqui person may also be suspected. Professors of such subjects as chemistry, physics, and other sciences are often referred to as moreakame (the informants did not mention anthropologists).

The notion of enchantment is socially applied as a measure employed to deter individuals from disrupting the social balance by outperforming their peers. This notion acts as a tool to mediate behavior in the school as well as in the community or workplace, and to define the normative boundaries of acceptable behavior. Enchantment is regarded as a social evil. Enchantment threatens the moral basis of Yaqui culture by denying the applicability of sanctions against prescribed behavior. The sanctions are premised by the metaph sics which structure ceremonial life. To become enchanted is to be confined to the world of the huya ania upon human death. The confinement is to be exiled from the world comprising good and evil forces in opposition. This is the world of the Surem. The enchanted ones are granted an eternal existence in the timeless period of the world's origin. This existence is perpetuated by the endless unfolding of cosmic energy - the energy of creation. This existence is vibrant but anti-social. These enchanted ones are denied the experience of re-birth through ceremonial procedures and the recreative energies at large in the world of good and evil. They will not be united with those ancestors who have accepted both realities: the world of good and evil as well as the world of the huya ania. Any behavior which reflects a denial of either sphere of the synthetic, holistic universe is countered by social behaviors which are meant to counter such a

denial. For example, a Yaqui who denies the supernatural composition of the cosmos will not be welcomed at fiestas, will be excluded from the compadrazgo system, and may have difficulties in finding ceremonial sponsors for his children. The notion of enchantment and its ethical implications precludes a high tolerance of competitiveness within the community (this does not contradict the "appearance" of social factionalism in a Yaqui village). A braggard nature, which is usually associated with competitiveness, is negatively reinforced. "I don't like to be around that fellow because he brags so much. You know, he thinks he's so much better," is a frequent response when questioned as to why one doesn't socialize with a particular person. This abrasive trait is not only considered to be non-Yaqui but to be quintessentially Mexican or Anglo. On the other hand, a modest nature is preferred and is reinforced. Any excessive proffering of compliments is not only unwelcome but threatening. To clap one's hands in praise is to ridicule the lauded individual. It is not socially acceptable to strive to be the best at anything per se; those individuals who do strive to outdo others will be countered by their peers.

Special skills and talents to perform rituals are recognized characteristics associated with leadership among the Yaqui community. This recognition is, however, limited to ceremonial positions. Outside the ceremonial arenas, displaying special

skills and talents may be cause for rebuke. This rebuke may take political form along kinship lines. For example, anyone professing to speak on behalf of the entire Yaqui community will be denounced by members who are not related to him either ceremonially or by kinship. These antagonistic postures are perpetuated by an avoidance response, the individuals mutually avoid one another (this multiplies into households).

Just as the fiesta system increases interaction along kinship and ceremonial kinship (compadrazgo) lines, it decreases interaction between unrelated families and thus isolates households.

Another inhibitor to competition within the Yaqui community is the absence of strong leadership initiative. This lack is more apparent than real. Leadership roles are channeled through ceremonial offices. This lack of leadership may be viewed as a cultural trait. It is not considered proper behavior, among the traditional Yaquis, to take the initiative. The decision making process is well developed along democratic lines within the ceremonial setting. It is considered non-Yaqui, on the other hand, for an individual to speak as if on behalf of the group and to attain power for oneself in the process. Normally, an individual Yaqui, aspiring to gain respect and become influential would find his energies rewarded only in the traditional setting. A greater margin of tolerance toward individual initiative would

be allowed, in a Yaqui village, to a non-Yaqui (though Yaqui speaking) than to a Yaqui who is bound by his sanctions to maintain a high level of moderation. This does not, of course, assure a favorable response to any dynamic non-Yaqui. Yaqui children are naturally lacking in role play experiences which are not reinforced within their own culture. Whatever models they see for this role play are seen outside the Yaqui household and in non-Yaqui environments.

The complement to the huya ania is the world of good and evil wherein forces are dialectically opposed. Cosmic energies within this universe continually battle in a classic script of dialectical idealism. The forces of good clash with the forces of evil in this dialectic. The notion of "good" is generally associated with "life", conversely, the notion of "evil" is associated with "death". Within the Yaqui community it is universally believed that if properly organized, the forces of good will always conquer the forces of evil. These grand conquests occur at the climax of the cosmic cycles, as the forces of good (life) triumph over the forces of evil (death), as spring bursts forth in full bloom after the bareness of winter. It is further believed that these ceremonial performances (organization of the good forces) are not rendered by the Yaqui, then the earth will not receive her blessing. If the earth does not receive a blessing, she will not bear fruit. The Santa Kus (Holy Cross)

is dressed as the mother goddess. Yaqui doctrine holds that the Virgin Mary received a blessing, then she gave birth. The blessing is the life force. Without this blessing there will be no spring, the world will come to an end. Mankind and all the other creatures of the earth will perish. This catastrophe can only be averted by performing the Yaqui springtime renewal rites. This is the understanding of the Yaquis in Arizona concerning their ceremonial obligations. Those who perform in the ceremonial activities, of course, including the muhti (supplication before the Santos) receive a blessing. This blessing (the life force) will serve as a guard against the evil forces of sickness and death. It serves as a preventative cure.

The dialectical opposition of the forces of good and evil is not restricted to the climactic, cyclical ceremonies. Rather, it is a daily, ongoing process. Rituals underscore the public awareness of these forces and dramatize their manifestation. These forces are constantly at odds. The most apparent effects of the forces of good are the cures and resurrection or rebirth. For this reason, Curanderos (jitebim) are not exiled from he world of good and evil unless they seek enchantment. Jitebim combat evil as they fight disease and death, even though their powers and secrets are derived from the huya ania.

Good health is a preoccupation among the Yaqui community. The Yaquis cannot afford the loss of earnings brought on through

illness. Good health involves freedom from accidents as well as freedom from disease. Both men and women are likely to go to a medical doctor if they see external evidence of illness (sores, rash or pox) than if they had invisible, internal pain. With the latter case, a jitebi would probably be sought out.

This preoccupation does not reflect western, European concepts of disease and corresponding scientific theories of cell structure, virae, bacterial infection, innoculation, etc. Symptoms are interpreted in cultural terms. When disease or infirmity strikes, an evil had violated the physical body and has challenged the patient's anima. The forces of good are capable of overcoming this evil if the patient is worthy. Worthiness may be generated by making a manda (vow or promise) to serve in one of the ceremonial societies. This commitment would be from three years to life. Children are often promised by their parents, if they fall seriously ill or are in a critical accident. In the Yaqui village studies, there was some variation as regards the propriety of parents making mandas on behalf of their children. In the more traditional homes this custom was never questioned. In the more acculturated households (more Spanish language spoken in house as opposed to Yaqui) parents considered the matter to be a personal matter and that the individual involved should make the decision (this liberal interpretation of the manda was considered consistently inapplicable to cases of imminent death

among small children at which time parents were expected to offer their children). Interestingly the death of a child is cause for much festivity for the small child will become a supernatural entity of a highly desirable sort: an angel. In all types of households, however, it is the afflicted individual's responsibility to fulfill the manda. The onus does not revert to the person making the pledge if the promised one fails to fulfill the vow.

The benefits of modern medicine are widely recognized in Arizona Yaqui villages. Medical doctors are sought after in cases of serious accident or injury. The influence of the jitebim has wained but they are still sought out, especially in cases of ailing infants. A parent takes no chances if illness strikes an infant child; both a medical doctor and a jitebi are sought.

The role of symbols and the process of symbolization in Yaqui culture has yet to be adequately studied. This project was not extensive enough in its scope to thoroughly analyse these processes. Further study in this field is essential to understanding the perceptual processes among contemporary Arizona Yaquis. Particularly needed is study of the variations in frames-of-reference and how they structure meaning. A further comparison would be made of recently introduced frames to enduring primal and synthetic frames. Then a phase of symbolization in the transfer of information would be observed among Yaqui children. This would effectively map those frames which obtained the acquisition and transfer of knowledge among young children.

Both social and ceremonial interactions are founded, in Arizona Yaqui villages, upon certain basic symbolic representations among Yaqui society. Ceremonial symbolism is easily recognized in the form of ritual paraphernalia. Less easily detected are the symbols of gesture, temporal as well as spatial relationship and speech. The trained observer may quickly identify them as they appear during rites. The role of symbols in social interaction of a non-ceremonial nature, on the other hand, is infinitely more difficult a subject to scrutiny, and therefore, due to the time limitations on this study could not be described.

Just as ceremonial elements are symbolic in their nature, symbols at large in the social arena act as media to relate separate world, separate realities. The primal world view obtains an articulated cosmos comprising separate realities, separate worlds. These worlds may be interlaced by the transcendental nature of representative symbols which are perceived to have a powerful nature of themselves. For example, the water in the waterdrum of the maso (deer dancer) ensemble simulates the heartbeat of the young, growing deer. The water becomes imbued with the creative spirit of the huya ania as the dance progresses. The water is blessed. This spirit is invoked by the dance and by the poetic songs (flower songs); the water has become holy for the holy has entered it. At the close of this ritual, that is customarily the next morning, the water is poured from the

water drum onto the shape of a cross. It cannot be cast out any other way. Similarly, land over which ceremonial dances have been performed becomes santo tebat (Holy Ground). The very nature of the earth is altered by this performance.

The cross is an obvious symbol in Yaqui ceremonial activities. The gesture of making the sign of the cross is roughly equivalent to the physical cross in its meaning. One should carefully note, however, that the cross was not first introduced to the Yaqui by sixteenth century Jesuits but had previously served as the symbol of the four cardinal directions of the universe. The shape of this cross was similar to that of the Maltese cross. It is still painted on the mask of the Pahkola, and it is carved in shell and threaded onto his joporosim (bead necklace). It is used in pre-contact ceremonial activities. The primal, pre-contact cross design represented the point of interaction at the intersection of the place and the time of creation. This symbol acts to transcend the barrier of the sacred and the profane. The awesome power encountered at this juncture was also symbolized by the sign of the cross. This symbol is gendered. The plain cross is called Itomae (our mother) and is regarded as female. The crucifix is called Itom achai (our father) and is regarded as male. Furthermore, women are not to handle the crucifix as it is masculine and no men other than Matachin dancers may handle the Virgin Mary (she is their santo). These two aspects of the cross variations illustrate the sexual power, the recreative power of the Creator Spirit.

In Arizona Yaqui villages today, the definite boundaries separating what is ceremonial from what is non-ceremonial, i.e., social, neither contain nor restrict the meaning of symbol. Yaqui symbols act as frames-of-reference by which meanings are associated and through which they are transferred. The primal nature of Yaqui metaphysics obtains a never ending arena where ceremonial symbols continue to influence social interaction outside the ceremonial arena. The cosmic consciousness brought about by prescribed ritual is maintained in Yaqui society throughout day to day experiences in Arizona by references to supernaturals in everyday discourse.

The most pronounced symbol in Yaqui culture as experienced in an Arizona Yaqui village is the flower (sewa in Yaqui). The flower represents the life force, rebirth, renewal, regeneration, all that is good and all that is opposed to evil, to death. Various ceremonial paraphernalia are referred to as sewa such as the helmets of the chapayekam and the headdresses of the Matachinim or the red bow tied to bundle of hair atop the head of the Pahkola. The same applies to the scarf wrapped about the horns of the deer upon the Maso's head, and so on. Sewa also means holy but holy in the sense of the creative nature of the life force. The matachin headdresses are decorated with paper flowers and streamers. Flowers represent what is most sacred. this is their role as a sign, by association. As a symbol, the

flower carries forth a meaning, a value judgment. That meaning is introduced into ideas and contexts through the process of symbolization. This process may be linguistic, visual, or gesticulatory. Flowers, cottonwood leaves, and confetti (which are substituted for flowers without a change in meaning) are used to fend off evil in certain ceremonies. Cottonwood leaves replace the ineffectual weapons of the fariseos during Semana Santa (Holy Week). Flowers adorn angelitos, children role-playing as little angels during the curaresma (waehma, in Yaqui: Lenten period). Unmarried persons (social virgins) are buried with an abundance of flowers in their casket, it is believed that they become mediating supernaturals after death. They become angels just like the small children do. Pahkolam dance at the funerals of children and unmarried adults. Flowers represent the realm of flowers; the realm of flowers is a pure world free from evil, a transcendant reality unmaligned by the profanities of life on this earth. As a symbol it mediates the meaning of the holy, of the life force.

Children are of the flower world. They symbolize the same thing as flowers. Children are flowers, metaphorically. They are treated differently in the innocent, flower stage than when they acquire the sense of right and wrong. At this point their purity is tainted. Much research is needed on how the interaction of children, as flowers, frames the meaning of integrated sequences of child behavior. The concept of children relate the separate worlds of the cosmos.

The flower is both a symbol and an amulet. It represents a power and has a protective power of its own. The Yaqui rosaries are made of wooden beads with a colorful tassle at its end. This tassle is called a flower. The Yaqui rosary is believed to ward off strong forces of evil. That which is sewa, a flower, is not to be maligned for it is a blessing. At home the child is not to be abused for it is a blessing.

The adaptability of the Yaqui people to endure change and to accommodate various external, imposing elements has enabled this proud culture to survive the ravages of war, deportation, genocide, and suffocating poverty in the midst of plenty. The failure of the Yaqui children to adapt to and benefit from the demands of educational institutions is cause for alarm and dismay. The few exceptions to this plight may yield clues as to how the vast majority of Yaqui youth may acquire the basic tools for economic survival. This problem, the retention of one's identity in adaptation, must be dealt with by parents, teachers and students alike. Motivation must be achieved in accord with the value system firmly established within their cultural context. Goal orientation must develop along the lines of current Yaqui social control. The learning process must not be only reward/object oriented, but must conform to the patterns of behavior sanctioned by the Yaqui metaphysics. In this regard, the value of a person is not the totality of material goods gained but rather the end result of what one does, not what one has.

Preliminary analysis of the world of the Yaqui and the Anglo world of the school suggest some points of conflict. The Anglo concept of time is linear wherein events from the past through the present to the future, while the Yaqui world is cyclincal (Figure 2).

The notion of regeneration and renewal in Yaqui thought allots the misguided Yaqui a fresh start if penance is done. Nothing is beyond the power of renewal. Accountability must allow for the opportunity to make penance and try again in the cyclincal world of the Yaqui. Finality at a point along a linear time plane is anomalous in Yaqui thought for it refutes the regenerative power of cosmic energy to alter the nature of immediate reality. It denies a cure, and all evil can be cured. Without acknowledging the redemptive qualities of the dynamic cosmic forces, any program of instruction will almost certainly fail to find value in the belief system of the Arizona Yaquis.

The Yaqui idea of yearly regeneration implies that a fresh start can be made following failure. To a Yaqui student this may mean that he should not be held accountable for past failures, but be permitted a fresh record. Past test scores are not as important as the score on the next test. The Anglo teacher's emphasis on keeping a grade book is incompatable with the Yaqui view, which requires that past failure be forgotten.

The closed nature of traditional Yaqui society has continuously acted to inhibit interaction outside the community. This has isolated the community from strong influences and protected the culture from elements that bring change. Recent change has been associated with changing markets which altered the economic base, political activity by self-help organizations which espouse a means to preserve cultural integrity, and intermarriage which has brought non-Yaqui characteristics into the heart of the community. Education has not had an impact on Yaqui society in Arizona the way it has throughout most of the United States.

It is not easy for a Yaqui to relate to an outsider; that is a non-Yaqui outsider. The Yaquis, who call themselves Yoemem, refer to anyone who is not a Yaqui as a Yori. The term Yori is commonly applied to any Mexican or Mexican American; an Anglo would be called a ringo. Anyone who acts like Yori or befriends a Yori for personal gain is called a to Ko yoi. In a closed society, the motivations of all acts are questioned, especially if they involve advancement. The holders of important ceremonial offices are not exempt from this label. To Ko yoi means both turncoat and traitor. It is used to classify those Yaquis who helped the Mexicans against the Yaquis in the Sonoran wars. This derogatory term is used in Arizona to refer to any aggressive Yaqui who appears to work too closely with the Mexican American community in particular and the Anglo culture in general.

The work within the school system by concerned Yaquis has, to date, maintained an admirable balance; relating schoolwork to Yaqui children, modeling highly motivated and goal-oriented behavior while standing firm in light of suspicious community criticism.

Schools wishing to reach out to the Yaqui community should package that message as much as possible in Yaqui terms so that the community can relate to it without risking the appearance of a to Ko yoi. A basis for a relationship of mutual respect is founded by deeds rather then rhetoric in Yaqui society. The community can only recoil from those overtures which appear alien and threatening . The changes in Yaqui society have invariably been responses to encroaching elements, responses to alterations in the immediate environment. The Yaqui community is responsive. The challenge for institutions wishing to serve the Yaqui community rests upon those endeavors geared to stimulate a community response.

Outsiders may relate to the Yaqui community if they maintain an attitude of respectful interest. Curiosity must be mellowed, however, since anyone who persists in asking questions of a personal nature might be considered rude. The community does not welcome opinionated intruders. An outsider wishing to establish rapport should not offer suggestions unless they are solicited by

a respected member of the community. The most effective means of introducing alternatives to the Yaqui community is through the process of modeling behavior. Modeling behavior allows the community to decide what to accept or reject without appearing to put the community under pressure. The Yaqui community rebels at any sign of duress. The community responds well to innovative example when they feel free to decide whether to accept or reject new ideas. This sense of freedom and independence is essential for culture change in the Yaqui barrios of Arizona.

The Yaqui corporate policy, even though fractured by factionalism, can serve as a resource to compete for increased access to economic resources. One aspect of their ability to compete most certainly reside in the area of formal education. The failure of the local public school to serve the Yaqui community, suggests that another approach to formal education may be necessary.

Other ethnic corporate structures have developed their own educational programs which have proved to be successful in preparing their youth to cope with life in an urban, industrial society. These include the Chinese school, the Hebrew school, and the various orthodox Christian programs of education. What the Yaqui community in the United States might consider is the development of a non-formal Yaqui education program for all

Yaqui. Such a program might be based on two models of education; the multicultural model (Gibson, 15-16), and the liberation model (LaBelle, 21). Both these models rely heavily on non-formal approaches to educating all the members of a community.

The multicultural model seeks to develop competencies in multiple systems of standards for perceiving, evaluating, believing, and doing. It does not equate education with schooling. Nor does it equate culture and ethnic groups. It requires intensive interaction with people who already are competent members of the multiculture. Since multicultural education promotes multiple identities, it does not require the students to reject their cultural identity in favor of another identity. It does not emphasize the dichotomy between native and mainstream culture.

To the multiple realities of Yaqui culture; huy ania, yo ania and the moral word of good and evil would be added another reality, that of the school. Since most school classrooms, either consciously or subconsciously adhere to the Realist school of philosophy, they are in conflict with the sacred and profane worlds of the Yaqui culture. This additional world view needs to be presented, elaborated and compared for Yaquis of all ages, not as a reality which is in conflict with their own, but as an additional reality which can be used for their benefit as a mechanism of cultural survival. To the closed world of the Yaqui

would be added an additional world from which their children can acquire the social skills for participation in the school much as they learn the skills to participate in Yaqui ceremonial life.

The approach to acquiring the skills, values and content of the Realist view of life might well include the techniques of nonformal education and of the liberation model of development. Such techniques would include the consciousness raising approach first suggested by Paulo Freire; the use of the Yaqui written language as one basis of communication; the use of Yaqui symbolic modes of communication found in their art, music, dance, and drama; and the inclusion of Yaqui of all ages in the process.

The nonformal approach could also be supplemented through summer camps and day care centers administered by Yaquis using Yaqui pedagogical techniques to teach non-Yaqui behaviors and beliefs without becoming morekame. In this manner the non-Yaqui world of the school could be presented in Yaqui terms and synthetically processed as Yaqui items and given worth in the Yaqui value system.

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